

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----017211 231408Z /43

O R 231247Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8603
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ANKARA 6287

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TU, US, CY, GR
SUBJECT: INITIAL CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL

REF: (A) STATE 181712, (B) STATE 196363

1. FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL RETURNED FROM HIS VACATION AUGUST 22, AND I WAS ABLE TO MAKE MY INITIAL CALL ON HIM LATER THAT DAY. AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES, CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT HE EXPECTED THAT I WOULD BE MEETING WITH PRIMIN DEMIREL LATER IN THE WEEK AND HE WOULD, THEREFORE, PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER THAT MEETING TO DISCUSS SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING ANKARA ON THE 18TH OR 19TH OF SEPTEMBER FOR THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHERE HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH SECRETARY VANCE AND SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A COMPLETE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH ME IN PREPARATION FOR THAT MEETING.

2. CAGLAYANGIL THEN SAID THAT HE HAD RECENTLY BEEN TOLD BY FRIENDLY DIPLOMATIS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE WAS SPREADING THE RUMOR THAT US-TURKISH RELATIONS WERE ENTERING INTO A DIFFICULT PERIOD. HE SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THIS SHOULD
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BE THE CASE OR WHY THE GREEKS WERE SAYING IT. IN CONTRAST, HE BELIEVED THAT TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAD SOLID FOUNDATIONS AND THAT IF BOTH SIDES SHOWED GOODWILL, THE "ARTIFICIAL PROBLEMS" WHICH HAD BEEN INTRODUCED INTO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES COULD BE SURMOUNTED. CONCERNING SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, CAGLAYANGIL POINTEDLY SAID THAT IF THE SITUATION ARISES WHERE TURKEY SEEMS TO BE FORCED INTO A CORNER BECAUSE OF DEFENSE OR

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, NEITHER COUNTRY WOULD BENEFIT.

3. CAGLAYANGIL THEN TURNED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH ECONOMY, PASSED LIGHTLY OVER THE CURRENT PROBLEMS AND PREDICTED FUTURE TURKISH SUCCESS IN OVERCOMING THOSE PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS AWARE OF AND APPRECIATIVE OF THE US CONTRIBUTION TO TURKISH DEVELOPMENT AND HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE THAT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

4. IN RESPONSE, I SAID I WAS UNAWARE OF ANY PESSIMISTIC JUDGMENT ON THE US SIDE THAT US-TURKISH RELATIONS WERE ABOUT TO ENTER A PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT PHASE. IN FACT, I SAID, MY PERSONAL OUT-LOOK WAS ESSENTIALLY OPTIMISTIC BECAUSE I FELT THAT THE FEW PROBLEMS THAT EXISTED BETWEEN US SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO SORT OUT. I THEN PROCEEDED TO MAKE POINTS PROVIDED BY REFERENCES (A) AND (B). I EMPHASIZED THAT FROM THE CONVERSATIONS I HAD HAD WITH PRESIDENT CARTER IN LONDON, I WAS CONVINCED THAT HE IS PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO RESTORE THE TURKISH-US RELATIONSHIP BUT THAT HE BELIEVES THAT, GIVEN EXISTING CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE, FULLL RESTORATION MUST AWAIT SOME PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. AFTER COMPLETING THIS PRESENTATION, I ADDED ON A PERSONAL BASIS MY SUGGESTION THAT IN PREPARATION FOR CAGLAYANGIL'S MEETING OR MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR SOME US OFFICIALS SUCH AS COUNSELOR NIMETZ OR ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST AND EUR/SE DIRECTOR LEDSKY TO VISIT ANKARA DURING THE NEXT MONTH TO JOIN ME IN A COMPLETE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
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BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES TO PREPARE FOR THE CAGLAYANGIL-VANCE MEETINGS, WHICH SHOULD COVER ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

5. CAGLAYANGIL SIAD THAT IN VIEW OF THE LIMITED TIME THE SECRETARY WOULD HAVE FOR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK, HE AGREED THAT ADVANCE PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING WAS IMPORTANT. HE ALSO AGREED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE "TECHNICAL" MEETINGS DURING THE NEXT MONTH, BUT HE AGAIN SAID THAT HE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER I HAD TALKED TO PRIMIN DEMIREL BEFORE GETTING INVOLVED IN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THAT SINCE I HAD RAISED THE SUBJECT OF CYPRUS AND HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THE SECURITY AND AUTONOMY OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY, HE DID WISH TO POINT OUT THAT, ALTHOUGH THOSE ARE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS, THEY WERE NOT EVERYTHING. IN ADDITION, THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY MUST HAVE EQUALITY IN ANY FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 231247Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8604
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ANKARA 6287

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6. CAGLAYANGIL WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAS BEEN DEALING WITH THE CYPRUS QUESTION FOR MORE THAN 10 YEARS AND DURING THAT TIME HE HAD PASSED THROUGH PERIODS OF GREAT OPTIMISM AND GREAT PESSIMISM. AS A RESULT, HE HAD LEARNED TWO THINGS: BE PATIENT AND LEARN TO LIVE WITH PROBLEMS. FOREIGN MINISTER THAN COMPLAINED THAT DURING THESE MANY YEARS, HE HAD TRIED TO ENGAGE THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE IN A DIRECT DIALOGUE TO SOLVE THIS "ESSENTIALLY GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEM" BUT THAT HE HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL AND DISCUSSIONS NEVER WENT BEYOND PROCEDURAL MATTERS.

7. CAGLAYANGIL THEN SAID THAT THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE OF SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF ITS COALITION, CANNOT MAKE CONCESSIONS ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. CAGLAYANGIL DENIED THIS, BUT, HE SAID "CONCESSIONS CANNOT BE A PRECONDITION OF NEGOTIATIONS". HE SAID THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM: THE CONSTITUTION AND THE TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES. HE SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE ON THESE ISSUES, BUT THAT (A) THIS PROCESS MUST BE A SECRET ONE AND (B) THE CONCERNED PARTIES MUST ENTER INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS CONFIDENT THAT THE OTHERS ARE ALSO SINCERELY SEEKING A SOLUTION.

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8. COMPLETING THIS QUICK EXPOSITION ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, HE TURNED TO TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS. HE SAID THAT HIS PARTY, THE JUSTICE PARTY (JP), WAS STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST BUT FOR THAT REASON IT COULD MAINTAIN AN EASY RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THE JP COULD NOT AVOID BEING

IDENTIFIED WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, SUCH AS THE US, AND THIS IDENTIFICATION PRESENTED A PROBLEM FROM TIME TO TIME. THIS ESPECIALLY HAD BEEN THE CASE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE EMBARGO WHEN THE PARTY HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO CRITICISM BECAUSE OF ITS GENERALLY PRO-US STANCE. IN ORDER TO RE-ESTABLISH A SOLID BASIS FOR TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, CAGLAYANGIL SAID IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE DCA BE APPROVED. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED, AND NOW THERE IS NOT ONLY AN ARMS EMBARGO BUT THERE IS AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO. WE MUST FIND A WAY OUT, HE CONCLUDED.

9. I RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT, AT LEAST IN PART BECAUSE TURKEY IS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, I BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE US. I SAID I BELIEVED THAT THE PRESIDENT FELT THE SAME WAY AND THAT HE WANTED CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE DCA BECAUSE IT HAD BECOME A SYMBOL OF TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS. ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT GET THE DCA APPROVED BY CONGRESS UNLESS THERE WAS SOME PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. I SAID NEITHER HE NOR I FAVOED OR LIKED THE IDEA OF LINKAGE, BUT IT EXISTS AS A POLITICAL REALITY WHICH WE MUST DEAL WITH.

10. I THEN PICKED UP HIS COMMENT ON THE "ECONOMIC EMBARGO" SAYING THAT I HAD HEARD A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THIS SUBJECT SINCE I HAD ARRIVED IN TURKEY AND THAT I WAS GREATLY DISTURBED BY SUCH TALK. I POINTED OUT THAT NO CONCEIVABLE US INTEREST COULD BE SERVED BY AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO OF TURKEY. I SAID THAT INTERNATIONAL BANKERS MAKE THEIR OWN JUDGMENTS BASED ON THE INFORMATION THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVE AVAILABLE AND THAT I BELIEVED THAT ONE WAY OF DISPELLING THE NOTION OF AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO AND OF IMPROVING TURKEY'S ACCESS TO INTERNATIONAL CREDITS WOULD BE FOR TURKISH BANKERS AND FINANCIAL OFFICIALS TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUES WITH MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COMMUNITY. I APPEALED TO CAGLAYANGIL TO HELP GET SUCH DIALOGUES GOING BEFORE "CONSPIRACY THEORIES" REMOVED THE POSSIBILITY OF RATIONAL CONSIDERATION OF REAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8605

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USMISSION NATO

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11. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE HAD NOT CLAIMED THAT THE US HAD A POLICY OF APPLYING AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO BUT ON THE OTHER HAND HE COULD NOT SAY THAT THE US WAS NOT PARTICIPATING IN SUCH AN EMBARGO. HE SAID THE ARMS EMBARGO HAD NOT BEEN A POLICY CHOICE OF THE US ADMINISTRATION EITHER, BUT THE END RESULT WAS THAT WE HAD APPLIED AN ARMS EMBARGO. IN A SIMILAR FASHION, HE SAID THE ECONOMIC EMBARGO WAS THE RESULT OF "LOBBYING EFFORTS". HE WENT ON TO EXTOLL TURKEY'S POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE GROWTH AND SAID THAT THE PRESENT GOT WAS TAKING CERTAIN STEPS TO CORRECT THE CURRENT IMBALANCES. CAGLAYANGIL THEN CONCLUDED OUR MEETING SAYING THAT HE WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO A FUTURE DIALOGUE ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

12. COMMENT: MY FIRST MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOT VERY SUBSTANTIVE. ALTHOUGH CAGLAYANGIL DID ENTER INTO SUBSTANTIVE AREAS DURING THE CONVERSATION, I DID NOT GET THE IMPRESSIN THAT HIS COMMENTS REPRESENTED CONSIDERED POSITIONS. HIS DESIRE TO AVOID THE DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE UNTIL AFTER MY MEETING WITH DEMIREL SUGGESTS THAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT MAY BE PREPARING A SPECIAL MESSAGE TO BE PRESENTED TO ME AT THAT MEETING. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS MERELY UNPREPARED, HAVING JUST RETURNED FROM VACATION, TO ENGAGE IN A SERIOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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SUSTAINED DISCUSSION. DESPITE HIS RELUCATANCE, HOWEVER, I WAS ABLE TO MAKE THE POINTS PROVIDED REFS (A) AND (B). I ALSO WAS ABLE TO MAKE SUGGESTION THAT IN PREPARATION FOR CAGLAYANGIL'S MEETING WITH SECRETARY VANCE IN NEW YORK, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE PRELIMINARY MEETINGS--PREFERABLY WITH PARTICIPANTS FROM WASHINGTON. SINCE I WILL PROBABLY BE SEEING PRIMIN DEMIREL LATER THIS WEEK, I WOULD APPRECIATE DEAPRTMENT'S VIEWS ON POSSIBILITY THAT SOMEONE SUCH AS MATT NIMETZ OR GEORGE VEST MIGHT COME TO ANKARA IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS IN ORDER TO HELP LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR PRODUCTIVE MEETINGS BETWEEN CAG-LAYANGIL AND THE SECRETARY. IF DEPARTMENT AGREES, I THINK THIS

VISIT SHOULD BE TREATED IN A VERY LOW KEY, AND THAT IF OTHER STOPS
(E.G. ATHENS) WERE TO BE CONTEMPLATED, ANKARA BE THE FIRST PORT
OF CALL.
SPIERS

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
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Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 181712, 77 STATE 196363
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1522391
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INITIAL CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, TU, US, CY, GR, (SPIERS, RONALD I), (CAGLAYANGIL, IHSAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6d0a6956-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009